

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 181825

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ORIGIN MBFR-04

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TO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

INFO USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

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E.O. 11652 GDS

TAGS:PARM NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: GERMAN POSITION ON COMMON CEILING

REFS: A. STATE 155496, B. STATE 161267, C. STATE 179893,
D. BONN 13080

1. AS WE ANALYZE GERMAN POSITION, IT APPEARS TO US THAT
THE FOREIGN OFFICE IS LARGELY SATISFIED WITH THE POSITIONS
WE HAVE TAKEN THUS FAR ON COMMON CEILING AND PHASE II, BUT
THAT THE DEFENSE MINISTRY, ALTHOUGH IT HAS NOT ARTICULATED
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SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 181825

IT IN PRECISE TERMS, IN FACT IS EDGING TOWARD EFFORT TO

OBTAIN A COMMITMENT THAT THE US WILL NOT ACCEPT A PHASE I AGREEMENT UNLESS IT CONTAINS A SPECIFIC SOVIET COMMITMENT TO THE CONCEPT OF A COMMON CEILING.

2. FOR REASONS WHICH ARE DESCRIBED IN THE BACKGROUND SECTIONS OF STATE 155496 AND STATE 161267, WE DO NOT WISH TO ENTER A SITUATION WHERE WE WILL BE UNDERTAKING A WHOLE RANGE OF COMMITMENTS CORRESPONDING TO THE SPECIAL INTERESTS OF EACH SEPARATE ALLY, THUS COMPLETELY OVERBURDENING OUR NEGOTIATING POSITION, OR WHERE NATO WOULD ASSIGN PRIORITIES NOW AMONG ELEMENTS OF ALLIED NEGOTIATING PROGRAM. ON THE OTHER HAND, FRG SUPPORT IS HIGHLY IMPORTANT TO US

AND WE HAVE MADE GREAT EFFORTS TO MEET THE GERMAN POSITION REGARDING THE COMMON CEILING AND PHASE II.

3. IN MEETING WITH LEBER SEPTEMBER 13 AMBASSADOR MAY WISH TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS:

(A) WE ARE PLEASED BY THE PROGRESS IN NATO TOWARD AN AGREED ALLIED POSITION ON MBFR AND BY THE COOPERATION WE ARE RECEIVING FROM THE FRG ON THIS PROJECT; US/FRG COOPERATION ON MBFR IS AND WILL CONTINUE TO BE ESSENTIAL TO SUCCESS OF MBFR ENTERPRISE.

(B) RECOGNIZING THE POLITICAL PRESSURES IN THE FRG FOR REDUCTION OF GERMAN ARMED FORCES IN MBFR, WE HAVE MOVED AWAY FROM OUR ORIGINAL STRONG OPPOSITION TO REDUCTIONS OF EUROPEAN NATO FORCES AND AGREED THAT THERE SHOULD BE A SECOND PHASE OF NEGOTIATION TO INCLUDE THESE FORCES. GIVEN THE CONSIDERATIONS WHICH UNDERLAY OUR ORIGINAL POSITION, THIS WAS A CONSIDERABLE STEP FOR US.

(C) DURING THE CURRENT WORK ON THE NATO POSITION PAPER, WE HAVE FURTHER DEVELOPED OUR POSITION TO MEET GERMAN INTERESTS: WE HAVE MADE MORE SPECIFIC THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD SEEK EASTERN AGREEMENT TO A COMMON CEILING AS A MAJOR NEGOTIATING GOAL AND THEY SHOULD ALSO SEEK SPECIFIC LANGUAGE IN A FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT PROVIDING FOR A SECOND PHASE OF NEGOTIATIONS. WE HAVE ALSO PROPOSED

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PAGE 03 STATE 181825

THAT THE ALLIES AGREE AMONG THEMSELVES THAT THE FORCES TO BE ADDRESSED IN THE SECOND PHASE SHOULD BE THE AGGREGATES OF NATO AND WARSAW PACT GROUND FORCES REMAINING IN THE GUIDELINES AREA AFTER FIRST PHASE REDUCTIONS, THUS MAKING SPECIFIC THAT THE BUNDESWEHR WOULD BE COVERED, AND ALSO THAT THE ALLIES WOULD SEEK FURTHER REDUCTIONS OF SOVIET FORCES IN THE SECOND PHASE.

(D) AS A FURTHER IMPORTANT MOVE, WE ARE, OR SHORTLY WILL BE, PROPOSING LANGUAGE IN NATO FOR INCLUSION IN THE ALLIED POSITION PAPER (AMBASSADOR MAY USE TEXT OF FIRST TWO SENTENCES OF SUGGESTED TEXT OF NEW PARA 17 CONTAINED IN PARA 25 OF STATE 179893). THIS LANGUAGE GIVES THE COMMON CEILING CONCEPT AND A SECOND PHASE OF NEGOTIATIONS EXPLICIT STATUS WITH REDUCTION OF SOVIET TANK ARMY AS THE APPROVED ALLIED AIM FOR THE FIRST PHASE OF MBFR NEGOTIATIONS. WE BELIEVE THAT THIS POSITION, WHICH CAN BE SAID TO GIVE EQUAL STATUS TO THE INTERESTS OF THE US AND THE FRG AS REGARDS THE FIRST PHASE OF NEGOTIATIONS, IS EQUITABLE AND MEETS GERMAN INTERESTS. THIS, HOWEVER, IS AS FAR AS THE ALLIES CAN REALISTICALLY GO ON THIS SUBJECT

WITHOUT ASKING SO MANY COMMITMENTS FROM THE SOVIETS IN THE FIRST PHASE REGARDING THE OVERALL REDUCTION PROGRAM THAT EITHER THEY WILL SIMPLY REJECT IT OR THAT THEIR ALREADY STRONG INTEREST IN DISCUSSING BUNDESWEHR REDUCTIONS WILL BECOME SO STRONG THAT THEY WILL INSIST ON A SINGLE NEGOTIATION COVERING ALL NATO AND WARSAW PACT FORCES. MUCH OF THE IMPACT IN THE US OF A FIRST-STAGE US-SOVIET REDUCTION WOULD BE LOST IF US REDUCTIONS WERE SIMULTANEOUSLY ACCOMPANIED WIT
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